



# BULLETIN

Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection  
"Promoting faith and justice"



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ISSN 1990-4479

## QUOTE

*We have to realize that a true ecological approach always becomes a social approach; it must integrate questions of justice in debates on the environment, so as to hear both the cry of the earth and the cry of the poor.*  
(Laudato Si, #49)

## Contents

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR .....	2
ZAMBIA'S 2020 NATIONAL BUDGET WILL NARROWLY IMPACT POSITIVELY ON LIVES OF MAJORITY ORDINARY CITIZENS .....	3
<b>Innocent Ndashe</b>	
COMMUNICATION, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE COMMON GOOD .....	6
<b>Timothy Wild</b>	
THE AMAZON SYNOD AND THE EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY – LESSONS FOR THE CHURCH IN AFRICA.....	8
<b>Stan Muyebe, O.P.</b>	
AFRICA'S CONTINENTAL FREE TRADE AREA .....	12
<b>Simson Mwale</b>	
XENOPHOBIA.....	16
<b>Joseph Lungu</b>	
THE JCTR UPDATES .....	22



## LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Dear Readers

January 2020 marks the beginning of the implementation of the new JCTR strategic plan. As JCTR we want to continue to be active in promoting an enculturated faith, values, environmental stewardship, human rights and empowerment of local communities in the work of social justice, transparency, peace and human integrity. We desire to see a society where the plight of the poor and vulnerable is considered as a matter of national development priority. We would like to see prudent management of public resources with little leakages, if any, of these resources to acts of corruption and other forms of abuse. Social and economic policies and laws as well as national development programmes should all be designed and formulated with a main focus on moving millions of the people from abject poverty and deprivation.

The first strategic objective of JCTR is aimed at contributing to improving the political and economic governance of the country which should serve as a catalyst for responding to the needs of the poor and marginalized in Zambia. In essence, we are continuing to focus on social and economic development, as we did in the previous plan but we address a number of key emerging issues which are current and will remain of concern in the next couple of years.

The second strategic objective targets the people themselves – including the poor and marginalised, the leaders and citizens to challenge them and educate them to take ownership for their lives. This goal will provide us an opportunity to strengthen the core - the faith and mind-sets of the people (right-holders) and impart relevant knowledge/education for them to adequately claim their rights. This goal will be about developing the long term skills particularly in young Zambians to allow them to effectively participate in different national development processes. Citizens and servant leaders, will be empowered to promote social justice and stewardship for the environment - in a quest to address the challenges currently faced by the poor and marginalised.

The third strategic goal focuses on the JCTR as an institution. JCTR has been in existence for over 30 years and the organisation has contributed in many ways to the socio-economic and political life of the country. However, JCTR has faced a number of challenges; externally with a difficult operating environment and internally, with limited funding, high staff turnover among others. In order to successfully implement the Strategic Plan 2020-2023, JCTR has to work on strengthening its operational capacity and expanding its financial base.

I would like to invite you to join hands with us and to work with us. We count on your support and collaboration. Allow me to end by thanking you all whole-heartedly for taking an interest in the work of JCTR and the communities we serve.

Alex Muyebe, S.J.  
Editor



## ZAMBIA'S 2020 NATIONAL BUDGET WILL NARROWLY IMPACT POSITIVELY ON LIVES OF MAJORITY ORDINARY CITIZENS

### INTRODUCTION

On Friday, 27<sup>th</sup> September, 2019, Zambia's Finance Minister, Dr. Bwalya Ng'andu presented the 2020 National Budget under the theme "Focusing National Priorities towards Stimulating the Domestic Economy". In this national address, the Minister did acknowledge that the country's economy was at its low, expected to grow at 2% by December 2019. This was half the projected growth of 4% by the Year-End. The situation raise much concern when compared to a growth of 6 – 7%, the country enjoyed when the Patriotic Front (PF) Party took over government.

### COMMENDABLE MEASURES IN THE 2020 BUDGET

Some progressive measures that government has proposed to implement in 2020 include: the decision to increase allocation to social protection from K2.18 billion in 2019 to K2.6 billion. If these funds are made available and are prudently utilised, this support will bring some relief to the targeted beneficiaries. The decision will enable vital components such as the social cash transfer (SCT) receiving increased attention. In 2019, government had reduced the allocation to SCT to K699 million from K721 million in 2018. But in 2020, the allocation to SCT has seen a

significant increase to K1 billion. An allocation of K1 billion has also been made to off-set retirees' arrears.

Government's decision to increase attention to off-set debt it owed to local suppliers of goods and services to government is also commendable. An allocation of K2.3 billion has been made to this cause compared to that of K437 million budgeted in 2019. This money if timely released to the suppliers has potential to ignite business activity and innovation in the economy, thereby contributing to economic growth and widening employment opportunities, especially for the youth. However, due to liquidity crisis, government highlighted that it has continued to acquire certain critical goods and services on credit. This means arrears have been accruing steadily. Therefore, even if it has allocated **K 2.3 billion** towards dismantling of arrears, if funding challenges persist, the country will likely continue getting critical goods and services on credit which means arrears will keep accumulating.

Further, at the time when there is a push to increase domestic resource mobilisation, a decision to maintain Value Added Tax (VAT) system is commendable as opposed to effecting change to sales tax, a system which had been viewed by many as not appropriate. All government needs to do moving forward is to prioritize fixing loopholes that have been leading

to alleged cheating and reduced compliance. This needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency. The decision to maintain a sliding mineral royalty tax and its accompanying increases effected in 2019, on minerals such as copper is also commendable.

An allocation of K1.1 billion has been made for investment in the energy power infrastructure to diversify and boost the electricity generation capacity. This is a positive move in the right direction. However, government needs to provide a clear direction on how it plans to roll out diversification in the energy sector. Government can learn from countries like Kenya which is currently leading in energy diversification in Africa.

### THE DOWN SIDE OF THE BUDGET

Government has targeted a growth of 3% compared to a growth of 6 – 7%, the country enjoyed when the Patriotic Front (PF) Party took over government. This simply means that the current hardships majority citizens are gabbling with will continue. Challenges such as lack of access to basic nutritious food, limited employment opportunities, inadequate income, limited access to quality health care and safe drinking water will remain unaddressed.

Further, government still faces challenge with regards to widening of domestic tax base. Government needs to consider inclusion of vibrant areas of the economy that have previously been inadequately taxed. For example, there should be a clear criteria to include some informal sector businesses in the domestic tax base in order to provide some relief to citizens in the formal sector who have carried the heavy tax burden for a long time, especially those currently earning between K3, 301 and K4, 000. It is actually disappointing that government opted to maintain the non-taxable income threshold at K3, 300 despite statistics such as Central Statistics Office (CSO)'s monthly bulletin and Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR)'s Basic Needs and Nutrition Basket demonstrating that cost of living has significantly increased in the recent past. The CSO's measured inflation rate hit a record high of 10.8% in November, 2019. Whilst the JCTR's Basic Needs and Nutrition Basket averaged K5, 006.69 in October, 2019.

On debt problem, there is nothing new. Government has made pronouncements to slow down or in some instances halt debt contraction as well as seek to pursue debt refinancing options. These pronouncements have been made before but we are

still in the same situation. A comprehensive approach is required to strengthen legislative oversight in public debt contraction and management. One such approach is to undertake the long awaited revision of the Loans and Guarantees Act to enable the Minister of Finance to table before parliament the justification for contracting debts.

In 2020 government has planned to carry out a number of projects to promote water harvesting and irrigation initiatives. These are however insufficient, especially in the Southern part of the country, which in recent farming seasons, has greatly been hit by drought. Over 50% of the Zambian population is rural based and largely depend on agriculture. This calls for a serious government commitment to agriculture, in areas such as water harvesting, irrigation, diversified crop production that includes drought resistant crops and a well organised marketing system. These measures have potential to drastically contribute to poverty reduction.

Of concern also is the fact that the allocation towards farmer input support programme (FISP) has been reduced to a tune of K1.1billion yet the number of farmers benefiting from the scheme has been maintained at one million. This practically suggest that each small-scale farmer will only benefit K 1,100 which is not enough to improve agriculture production. Further, government will distribute 60% of farming inputs using the direct input support programme which only supports growing of maize. The 40% of inputs will be distributed via e-voucher which is not sufficient enough for much emphasis of diversification in agriculture in light of unstable climatic conditions.

The reduction in the allocation to the education sector is also of concern, both in nominal terms and as a percentage share of the total budget. Compared to K13.3 billion (15.3%) of K86.8 billion in 2019, government has allocated to the sector K13.1 billion (12.4%) of the total budget of K106 billion in 2020. To make matters worse, the decrease in allocation is happening at a time when government within 2019, slashed fees by half at secondary school level in public schools and when government is emphasising free primary school education. The reduction in allocation will definitely negatively affect government support to schools in areas such as infrastructure, equipment, and teaching and learning materials.

In the case of the health sector, though there was reduction in the percentage share of the total budget



in 2020 compared to 2019, there was an increase in nominal amounts. The allocation in 2020 is K9.4 billion compared to K8.1 billion in 2019. However, despite this increase, allocation to essential areas such as drugs and medical supplies has remained low. In 2019, government reduced allocation to drugs and medical supplies from K1.2 billion in 2018 to K900 million. Despite persistent shortages of essential drugs and medical supplies in most health facilities, especially in rural areas, government in 2020 has still made similar allocation, K900 million.

Surprising though, has been that despite Zambia enjoying reasonable peace and not at risk of civil strife, allocation to areas including defence and public order and safety, have continued to receive maximum special attention. In 2020, defence has been allocated 6.2% compared to 5.8% as percentage share of the total budget. Whilst public order and safety has been allocated 3.8% in 2020 compared to 3.3% in 2019 as a percentage share of the total budget. In reality actually development, not military deterrence, is the best strategy for a safer society.

And around K15 billion will be spent on transport, health and airport infrastructure. This is once more an expansionary expenditure on infrastructure at the expense of agriculture and manufacturing. The budget has not reflected these priorities. The expenditure patterns has pretty much remained the same over the years. Therefore much reflection is required on where economic growth, income generation and job creation will emanate from.

## CONCLUSION

Although there are few positive elements in the 2020 National Budget, the budget does not offer much relief to ordinary citizens who are struggling to survive due to bad combination of limited sources of income and high cost of living. The budget might be good for the business sector but an opportunity has again been missed to address the plight of the majority of the Zambians, especially the poor. This is evidenced through for instance significant allocation towards infrastructure that has been clouding out spending to important social sector safeguards.

## SOME RECOMMENDATIONS

- Government needs to ensure measures are put in place that protect the economic freedom of people. It cannot continue to suffocate the majority poor Zambians with huge taxes and levies. Besides, the current government has promised a better Zambia for all. Measures such as maintaining the non-taxable income threshold at K3, 300 in light of ever increasing cost of living needs to be looked at.
- Government needs to prioritise areas on which it spends its scarce financial resources on. Areas such as education, health, agriculture and manufacturing need to be prioritised and not areas such as defence. More financial resources, for example, are required for acquisition of needed drug and medical supplies in health facilities and for investment in agricultural diversification, climate smart agriculture, high quality extension services, market support and value chain development.
- Investment in research and development must be prioritised that will likely open up and improve industrial linkages and accelerate economic growth, job creation and development. Further, some of the funds allocated for infrastructure development should be channelled to agriculture and manufacturing.
- Government should prioritise promotion of strategic industries in provinces. Further, government should conduct a thorough evaluation of the effectiveness of the Multi-Facility Economic Zones model that has been implemented over time now.
- Public debt has skyrocketed and debt service costs are ever increasing. Given this scenario, government should put in place a comprehensive approach to deal with the debt problem.

**Innocent Ndashe**

**Programme Manager**

**JCTR - Lusaka**

# COMMUNICATION, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE COMMON GOOD

## INTRODUCTION

In an analysis of the history of educational policy making in Hawaii from 1820-1960, Maenette Benham suggests there are at least five groups that have varying degrees of influence on the policy development process.<sup>1</sup> These groups, which can be arrayed on a continuum, are: insider, near circle, far circle, sometime player and forgotten player, with the impact and “voice” of the groups diminishing as one moves along the continuum. There is some fluidity in the power and influence of the actors as the result of social, economic and political changes.

Nevertheless, despite an occasional re-arranging of the deck chairs, insiders continue to hold considerable sway in the formulation, direction and content of public policy, and forgotten players are mostly subject to these policies rather than wielding any meaningful influence on their development and scope. Benham demonstrates that this process renders a number of social groups “voiceless”.

## LACK OF PRO-POOR PUBLIC POLICIES

This suggestion of voicelessness can then be considered in light of a suggestion made by the historian Terence Ranger. Ranger notes that people on the social, cultural and economic margins are actually quite vocal and articulate in outlining their various needs. The trouble is that their voices are ignored or unheard. Therefore, Ranger argues that it is not so much about providing a voice for the voiceless but, rather “ears for the earless”<sup>2</sup>. However, whether situated in speaking or hearing, both Benham and Ranger point to the general fact that significant numbers of people and groups are on the outside when it comes to the development of progressive and inclusive public policy; and this location leads to their being forgotten or largely overlooked in the policy making process.

The communicative suggestions of both Benham and Ranger are useful to keep in mind when looking at current issues in Zambia. I would argue that the lack of forgotten outsider impact on the policy development process is a significant contributor

to poverty rates in the country. Simply put, current public policies are not “pro poor”. They are subject to the political and economic agendas, and subsequent policy decisions, of powerful insiders including foreign donors, ideologically mired international financial organizations, multi-national corporations and centre-right politicians. For example, what should be basic rights of citizenship – such as sanitation, healthcare and safe water – are neither actually available to massive numbers of Zambians nor realistically actionable as per the Constitution.

There is significant waste and corruption in disbursements from the public purse. And politics seems to be based around the dominance and charisma of individual personalities as opposed to being grounded in the democratic and messy to and fro of ideas, aspirations and values. Finally, much of Zambia’s economic wellbeing remains tightly yoked to the wellbeing of copper, and the relationship of the commodity to fickle international markets. Overall, then, much of the policy making field has been ceded to the power and demands of international capital in terms of investment, debt and debt-financing, and politics that is based more on personal allure rather than the generation of ideas situated in an authentic extension of the common good. The sad result is that many of Zambia’s people have been left behind in extreme economic poverty.

## THE NEED TO EXPAND POLICY DEBATE

A number of suggestions have been made to help overcome these complex social, economic and political problems. Proportional representation (PR) has been mooted as a means to increase the range of voices and provide greater diversity in parliament. It was unfortunate that PR was not adopted as this would certainly have expanded the scope of policy debate. Conventions have offered the promise of a greater range of voices in the political process. Civil society groups have also attempted to look at the crushing costs of debt and debt-servicing.

The Centre for Trade Policy & Development suggested that Zambia look towards the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a support package to help bridge debt financing. While the conditionalities associated with IMF involvement are problematic (look at the late 1980s for example) and ideologically laden, the contribution of the CTPD was certainly welcome, even if a bail-out package is not actually on offer from

1 M. Benham, *The Voiceless Hawaiian: An analysis of educational policymaking, 1820 – 1960*, *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, vol 32 (1998), see pp. 135 – 138.

2 T. Ranger, *Listening. Books from Zimbabwe*, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol 28, 1 (2002), p. 199.

the Fund. The World Bank and the IMF have argued, against the weight of historical experience, for the need for larger economic productivity to reduce poverty<sup>3</sup>. Additionally, government has tried – with varying levels of enthusiasm – to ensure that more money extracted from Zambia’s land and minerals remains in the common treasury.

The 2018 Budget contained a number of attempts to achieve this, such as looking at windfall taxes, royalty rates and overall taxation.<sup>4</sup> Taxation and royalty changes have been made in the recent budget to harness the collective wealth of the country for the collective wellbeing of the citizens. Needless to say, however, these attempts were met with alarm by foreign companies (including two large Canadian companies) who said that they would move operations to other parts of the world, such as South America, if these financial directives were implemented. So much for the wax fruits of Corporate Social Responsibility! But, realistically, none of the above measures fundamentally change the prevailing relations of power, which consign vast numbers of Zambia’s people to the margins.

## **HARNESSING CST PRINCIPLES**

Perhaps, in large part, this has been due to the fact that counter to the Church’s social teachings in relationship to the “authentic dimension” of political community<sup>5</sup>, the people – particularly those on the social, cultural and economic margins – have not been actively engaged in the policy development and implementation process. To follow from Benham’s categorization, they have been forgotten.

That being the case, we would be well advised to animate a policy approach and framework that is designed to implement a preferential option for the poor and draws upon the principles of Catholic Social Teaching (CST), particularly the principles of participation, subsidiarity and solidarity<sup>6</sup>. This is then applied in community, where the mutuality of the individual and the collective can be harnessed for the common good<sup>7</sup>. As noted in Catholic Social Teaching, “A community has solid foundations when it tends towards the integral promotion of the person and of the common good. In such cases law is defined, respected and lived according to the manner of solidarity and dedication towards one’s neighbour.”<sup>8</sup>

In August, Zambian Bishops, in a pastoral letter,

3 National Catholic Reporter, Aug 01, 2019

4 See Innocent Ndashe, 2019 National Budget – does it give hope to ordinary Zambians. JCTR Bulletin, (116), 1st Quarter 2019, pp. 3 – 4.

5 See, for example, Compendium of the social doctrine of the Church, section 385.

6 Compendium of the social doctrine of the Church,

7 Compendium, section 389.

8 Compendium, section 391.

called on Catholics to “refocus ourselves on what is best” and attempt to deal with current economic and environmental issues facing the country.<sup>9</sup> But how can this be operationalized, within the context of a democratic system? Partially, this can be achieved by the ongoing support, research and advocacy of allies, including the JCTR. I would also argue that part of this could be adoption of some of the values of “servant leadership” in order to further the principles of CST. The application of some measure of servant leadership could help bring forgotten players back into the midst of the policy development process, and help ensure the creation, implementation and sustainment of policies and programmes that meet the needs of all citizens.

Currently there is a lot of buzz around the idea of “servant leadership”, whereby the leader acts, ostensibly, in the best interests of the people. As a result, there are a number of approaches to servant leadership, some more democratic than others. Uriah Heap was, after all a very humble man, and many right-wing populists profess the same humility while promoting exclusion and fear. However, I think the general theme and promise of the approach was captured well by Krystyna Higgins when she wrote “...throughout his earthly ministry Jesus modelled servant leadership, which we could also call “shepherd leadership.”<sup>10</sup>

## **CONCLUSION**

We have a Divine model to follow. This could then be augmented by the animation of local, democratic and shared leadership, in a process of community development grounded in the social teachings of the Church.<sup>11</sup> This would include increasing social connectivity, popular education, leadership training together with developing the capacity and (perhaps most importantly) the confidence of local leadership. Then the people themselves – in right relationship - could more authentically determine what is in their best interests, and not have these ideas qualified, refined or diminished in the interests of larger power dynamics.

But even if the people are mobilized, it is important that channels of respectful communication exist between the voices and the ears. And that is where the democratic process between elections becomes so important. It is in this space that policy is developed, the common good is given life and the preferential option for the poor can come to the fore. It is where we can choose hope over fear.

**Timothy Wild**  
**Calgary Alberta**  
**Canada**

9 National Catholic Reporter

10 *Living with Christ, Sunday Missal, 2018-2019*, p. 589

11 Compendium, section 391.





# THE AMAZON SYNOD AND THE EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY – LESSONS FOR THE CHURCH IN AFRICA

## INTRODUCTION

The Synod of Bishops for the Pan-Amazonian Region took place in Rome in October 2019. The Amazon Synod dealt with variety of issues relating to the new ways for the Church and for a holistic ecology. One of the issues was extractivism as a model of development. One of the lessons that the Church in Africa can draw from the Amazon Synod and its pastoral approach to extractivism is its openness to enter into a creative dialogue with scholars and activists from the post-extractivism movement and de-growth movement. There is also an element of creative dialogue with local communities who are victims of extractivism. The final document of the Synod (FD) reflects this approach.

The Church in Africa should explore spaces for similar dialogue when formulating its pastoral letters and its pastoral responses to progressive extractivism. The pastoral documents of various agencies and conferences of bishops in Africa have in various occasions offered a pastoral critique of predatory extractivism and its impact in Africa. The messages in such documents have however not reflected a comprehensive and critical dialogue with post-extractivism movement and the grassroots communities. Africa needs a listening Church, a

Samaritan Church that is not afraid to converse with actors located outside the hegemonic and mainstream thinking with respect to extractive development.

## ENVIRONMENTAL ARGUMENTS FOR POST-EXTRACTIVISM (FD, 10-13)

In a large number of countries in South America, there is a strong drive towards progressive extractivism. One finds similar trends in Africa. Progressive extractivism is a model of development that bases its drive for economic growth on large-scale extraction and export of natural resources. Direct foreign investment, economic growth, job creation and social programmes are structured around extractive activities, often with little regard for human rights and the care of God's creation. Extractivism is one of the important ethical issues of our time.

Post-extractivism and de-growth movements have emerged with several arguments to justify the need to transition to alternative models of development. The final document of the Amazon Synod adopted and reproduced some of the environmental arguments. It has done this in a manner that emphasizes the theological reality of the earth and the environment. In the final document of the Synod, the environmental argument is based on the theological claim that



“our planet is a gift of God, but we also know that we are living the urgency to act in the face of an unprecedented socio-environmental crisis” (FD 65).

The post-extractivism movement often argue that the transition to alternative development is precipitated by the need to halt the environmental damage and the climate change trajectory. In particular, the model is responsible for the climate change crisis and for the placement of water sources and sites of high biodiversity at risk. Time is running out in this regard. In advancing its environmental arguments, the final document of the Synod provides a catalogue of the extractive activities that are depleting natural resources in Amazonia: “predatory hunting and fishing; unsustainable mega-projects (hydroelectric projects, forest concessions, massive felling, monocultures, highways, waterways, trains and mining and oil projects; contamination caused by extractive industries and cities’ dumps and, above all, climate change” (FD 10). There is also a reference to excessive deforestation and how it disrupts the biodiversity system in the Amazonia region (FD 11).

Drawing from *Laudato Si*, the final document laments the role that extractive activities, especially those related to fossil fuel, have contributed to the climate change, the effects of which disproportionately impact the poor in the global South (FD 68). It argues that the extractive activities in Amazonia needs a special attention because “Amazonia also has a critical role as a shock absorber against climate change; it offers invaluable and fundamental systems of vital support related to air, water, soils, forests, and the biomass” (FD 11).

In the final document, the environment argument for a just transition to post-extractivism are integrated with social arguments. The spirituality of integral ecology calls for the integration of the two. It is important that the Church “integrates social justice in the discussions on the environment, to listen both to the cry of the earth as well as the cry of the poor” (FD 66). The environmental impacts are “real threats that bring with them serious social consequences: sicknesses stemming from contamination, drug trafficking, illegal armed groups, alcoholism, violence against women, sexual exploitation, human trafficking, the sale of organs, sexual tourism, loss of the original culture and of identity” (FD 10).

### **HUMAN RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS FOR POST-EXTRACTIVISM (FD 45-50, 69)**

Another set of arguments advanced by post-extractivist movement is the escalation of human rights violations, armed conflicts and civil wars in

the resource-rich countries. The final document cites some of the human rights violations (FD 45-50, 69). One cannot talk of mining and human rights violations without reference to the issue of land rights. The final document therefore makes mention of the violation of land rights in resource-rich communities which often take the form of forced displacements. The ownership and sacredness of land, which are important to rural resource-rich communities, are continually being disregarded in favour of extractive activities.

“Greed for land is at the root of the conflicts that lead to ethnocide, as is the murder and criminalization of social movements and their leaders” (FD 48). The Synod made a commitment to invest in the protection of the land rights of the indigenous communities, claiming that “the defense of the land has no other end than the defense of life” (FD 48). It added: “For the Church, the defence of life, the community, the earth and the rights of the indigenous peoples is an evangelical principle, in defense of human dignity: “I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly” (Jn 10:10b)” (FD 50).

Among the human rights violations, the final document also prioritizes the excessive repression of resource communities and the murders of human rights defenders. It notes that “the depredation of the territory is accompanied by the shedding of innocent blood and of the criminalization of the defenders of Amazonia” (FD 67). The final document does not discuss armed conflicts and civil wars in resource-rich countries. This is an aspect that receives greater attention in the pastoral response to extractivism in Africa.

### **ECONOMIC ARGUMENT FOR POST-EXTRACTIVISM**

Another argument advanced by post-extractivism movement is an economic argument. They argue that the economic loss in neo-extractivism exceeds the intended economic benefits, especially when one considers the externalized costs, many of which are made up of environmental costs. The final document of Amazon Synod does not make explicit mention of the argument. It however speaks of the need to “discuss the real value that any economic or extractive activity has, that is, the value that it contributes and returns to the earth and to the society, considering the wealth that it extracts from them and their socio-ecological consequences” (FD 72).

The post-extractivism movement also questions whether neo-extractivism in the global South can really generate high levels of development that characterise the global North. Although extractivism

has been practised for decades in South America and other African countries, dating as far back as the colonial period, the countries in the global South remain under-developed. Post-extractivists point to the decoloniality of power as a factor that would make it impossible for resource extraction in the global South to translate to radical economic development. Such decoloniality of power finds concrete expressions in the illicit financial flows, as well as in the unfair manner with which trade agreements and global trade system are structured.

Another element missing in the final document of the Amazon Synod is the reference to the link between poor governance and the limited economic benefits of extractivism. Corrupt governance, rent seeking systems and unequitable distribution systems of wealth are contributing factors to the constrained benefits from extractive activities. Such factors cannot compare with the adverse impact of decoloniality factors. The tax revenue collected from resource extraction, which is minimal when compare with the value lost through illicit financial flows and unfair trade agreements, does not adequately reach the poor on the ground because of corrupt governance. As a result, the mining wealth is concentrated in the hands of the few elite in resource-rich countries, especially those within the patronage network of the ruling elite (FD 72).

## THE DEMANDS FOR ECOLOGICAL CONVERSION

Another movement that has responded to climate change and extractivism in the global South is the de-growth movement in the global North. One of the key positions in the de-growth movement is its insistence that the capitalistic notion of limitless production and growth is not sustainable and should be reviewed. The movement contemplates an alternative vision of development where economic growth and consumeristic lifestyle in the global North are curtailed for the benefit of a sustainable future. The movement also identifies the Western world as an actor who should bear primary responsibility for addressing the culture of consumerism.

The final document of the Amazon synod has indirectly reproduced this notion using the theological language of conversion. The cries of the earth and the cries of the poor, resulting from climate change and the neo-liberal extractivism, can only be addressed through an ecological conversion, which should include reduction of dependence on fossil fuel and a change in the culture of excessive consumption (FD 84).

During one of the press conferences, some bishops, echoing the sentiments in the de-growth movement,

argued that the primary responsibility for ecological conversion rests with our brothers and sisters in the Western world who constitute the demand side of extractivism in South America. As a demand side, the end in consumerism and limitless production in the global North could reduce the need for extractivism in the global South. Ecological conversion in the global North entails adopting a critical awareness that there is a connection between the consumerism in the global North and the capitalist expansion of extractive frontiers in the global South.

The final document of the Synod also takes a position that reflects some of the positions taken by decolonial scholars, especially with reference to the decoloniality of knowledge. Among other things, the decoloniality theorists question the prevailing assumption that the center of knowledge production, necessary for progress and development in the world, is located solely in the Western world. Decoloniality scholars argue that indigenous knowledge systems in the global South have the ability to provide foundation for alternative models of development. In particular, they can inspire development models that can counter and mitigate the current climate change trajectory.

The final document of Amazon Synod proposes that consideration be given to the indigenous knowledge system in South America, known as the good living. Ecological conversion should include openness to learn from this knowledge system, “which is fully realized in the beatitudes.” (FD 9 and FD 25). For the Synod of Amazon, this indigenous knowledge system “contrasts with the prevailing current of Western thought, which tends to fragment to understand reality, but is unable to articulate the whole of relations between the different fields of knowledge” (FD 44). The final document envisions mutual learnings between the Western and the traditional knowledge systems.

Consideration of the indigenous knowledge system for the formulation of an alternative development model requires a cultural conversion. Among other things, the cultural conversion challenges the Church to distance itself from the new colonizing powers in the world so as to listen to the poor (FD 15). It also challenges the Church to “reject an evangelization of colonialist style. To proclaim the Good News of Jesus implies to recognize the seeds of the Word already present in the cultures” (FD 55). The Synod affirmed that the current extractive model of development is an expression of neo-colonialism (FD 81). The cultural conversion in the Church is a call to the Church “to unlearn, to learn and to re-learn, to thus overcome any tendency to colonizing models that have caused damage in the past” (FD 81). It is a call to the Church to be aware that neo-

colonialism finds expression in our way of living and in the extractive model of development (FD 81).

## CONCLUSION

In its response to extractivism, the Amazon Synod has generated a vision of a Church which is in creative dialogue with two critical partners. The cultural and ecological conversion to the living Gospel, which is Christ, includes openness to listen to the two critical partners.

First, through the Amazon Synod, the Church considers communities affected by extractivism as a critical partner. Drawing its insights from the Amazon Synod, the Church in Africa should openly declare that it now considers the resource-rich communities in Africa as an important ally. This will require that the Church abandons its comfort zone and openly takes sides. In the context of structural injustice, as well as power imbalance between the powerful multinational corporations and the poor communities, there is a need for the Church in Africa to take sides. The words of the Amazon Synod are important here: “We may not be able to modify immediately the destructive model of extractivist development, but we do need to make clear where we stand, and whose side we are on” (FD 70). According to the Amazon Synod, the Church that takes sides is a “Samaritan, merciful and solidarity Church” that listens to the cries of the poor and the cries of the earth (FD 23). In Africa, we need such a Samaritan Church, a Church which is not afraid to stop on the road and attend to the wounds of the poor and the earth which have been inflicted by predatory extractivism.

Another important ally for the Church are the scholars and activists from the post-extractivism and de-growth movement. The final document of the Amazon Synod has demonstrated the importance of establishing such an alliance. In its response to extractive development, the Church in Africa has often called for measures to address the darker side of extractivism. In particular, it has called for the strengthening of the due diligence mechanisms as well as transparency and accountability mechanisms associated with resource governance. Dialogue with post-extractivism movement would challenge the Church in Africa to insist on the need to explore alternatives to the current system. We need an alternative model of development which is not grounded on fossil fuel and limitless production.

The Church in Africa has not been vocal in calling for alternative models. It insists on searching for ways to humanize the current model through structural and governance reforms. The fact of the matter is that we need to innovate and explore “a development model in which commercial criteria are not above the environmental criteria and human rights” (FD 73). The indigenous knowledge systems in Africa are our asset. They can contribute to the development of such a model. The Church in Africa should invest in the theological and anthropological research programs on indigenous knowledge systems in view of exploring a foundation for an alternative model of development.

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# AFRICA'S CONTINENTAL FREE TRADE AREA

## INTRODUCTION

**T**here was excitement on 30<sup>th</sup> May 2019 when the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) agreement with its associated protocols, annexes and appendices entered into force after 25 countries ratified it. And in July 2019 at the 12<sup>th</sup> African Union (AU) Extraordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government, Ghana among other competitors (Egypt, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar and Senegal) was chosen to host the Secretariat to oversee its implementation. What is worrying though is that AU has many other big ideas such as the African Peer Review Mechanism whose popularity is gradually decreasing and is at the verge of extinction from Africa's contemporary political agenda. Hopefully, AfCFTA will survive this usual 'political fatigue' and somehow stand the test of time.

## THE BIG QUESTION

Since this article isn't intended to discuss big African ideas, but to reflect on AfCFTA, let me

begin by stressing some fundamental questions that must be asked when such big economic ideas emerge at national, regional, continental or global levels. Well, as the U.S. Catholic Bishops aptly puts it in their "Economic Justice for All: Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy" (1986, #1), every economic system should respond to three basic questions: *What does the economy do for people? What does it do to people? And how do people participate in it?* Simply put, the overall purpose of an economic system – such as AfCFTA – is to maximise social well-being. That is, it should be able to provide what is necessary for the flourishing of human life. AfCFTA responsiveness to these basic questions will essentially determine its success and/or failure.

## AN AMBITIOUS PLAN

AfCFTA is one of the flagship project of the AU to build a prosperous and united Africa. It is aimed at helping African countries to boost economic and trade growth, transform their economies



and achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and AU Agenda 2063, which is Africa's own development vision. Estimated to be the world's largest free trade area since the formation of the World Trade Organisation, AfCFTA will bring together 54 AU signed up members to the agreement covering a market of approximately 1.2 billion people, including a growing middle class, and a combined gross domestic product (GDP) of about US\$2-3 trillion. Arguably, AfCFTA is an ambitious economic plan with potential to deepen integration among African countries. It indeed responds to the vision of "Pan-Africanism" and "collective self-reliance" to find Africa-driven solutions to African problems.

AfCFTA specifically represents a historic development in Africa's journey to, among others, create a single continental market for goods and services, with free movement of business persons and investments, and thus pave the way for accelerating the establishment of the customs union. It will also expand intra-African trade through better harmonisation and coordination of trade liberalisation and facilitation, and instruments across regional economic communities (RECs) and across Africa.

By and large, it is expected that AfCFTA will create bigger and integrated regional market for African products; permit producers to benefit from economies of scale and to access cheaper raw materials and intermediate inputs; improve conditions for forming regional value chains and integrating to global value chains; allow consumers to have access to cheaper imported products from other African countries; lead to better allocation of resources and faster economic and trade growth; catalyse the structural transformation of the countries from resource and low technology based economies to more diversified knowledge based economies; eliminate some challenges associated with multiple and overlapping trade agreements in Africa; encourage both intra-African and external direct capital flows to African countries; and stimulate cooperation in other areas such as technology transfer, innovation, investment and continent wide infrastructure development (UNCTAD, 2018, *African Continental Free Trade Area: Challenges and Opportunities of Tariff Reductions*).

AfCFTA is widely seen as a crucial driver for economic growth, industrialisation and sustainable development in Africa. It is therefore expected that higher trade levels will facilitate economic growth, transform domestic economies, and help the countries achieve SDGs. However, it has equally been foreseen that during the transition period economies that are especially not flexible enough shall face significant revenue losses and possible uneven distribution of other costs and benefits which in the long run shall be offset by higher output growth and welfare gains.

## POTENTIAL OBSTACLES

Quite clearly, then, despite AfCFTA ambitious long term goals of deepening integration among AU member states, there exist constraints with potential to hinder sound economic transformation for the continent. These include weak political, economic and governance structures, fragmented economies, lack of implementation of cohesive policies, underperformance in trade liberalisation, poor infrastructure facilities, lack of skills, restrictive movement of persons, and illiteracy.

Whether economic growth indicators resulting from AfCFTA will translate into improved standard of living for the so many ordinary peoples who are living testimonies to statistics of extreme poverty, highly afflicted by disease, and are victims of bad governance remains to be seen. Worse still, certain African countries continue to face ethnic wars, some of which are externally fueled in large part by hidden international forces whose economic agenda is essentially illegal arms trade.

Another challenge is to sustain the political will around AfCFTA to make it work. It is important for African leaders and its populace to recognise that signing a trade pact and its subsequent entering into force is not the same as achieving free trade. For sure, constructing a free-trade area linking some of the middle-income and poorest countries, and largest and smallest countries in Africa, is a mammoth undertaking. History, attests to the fact that a number of agreements and protocols at AU level have been signed which if they were enforced would greatly support and speed up the smooth realisation of what the AfCFTA is set to achieve. One good example is the "Protocol to the treaty establishing

the African Economic Community relating to free movement of persons, right to residence and right of establishment” adopted in January 2018 that has not yet been fully embraced.

In addition, other commentators have noted that for the AfCFTA to be successful, there must be a unity of vision. Such a vision must be there to aid the entire process and be maintained since if participating countries do not appreciate anticipated economic gains from AfCFTA and see it with a positive eye, or do not maintain a common purpose, it will not succeed. Reaching agreement among so many widely divergent economies shall certainly be a daunting task.

### CHALLENGES FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT

Another obvious challenge of AfCFTA is unescapable distractions from outside or other negotiating trading blocs. The AU should invest in well trained trade negotiators who would be particularly important for the negotiations to succeed, both within the continent given the diversity of economies in Africa and with other international economic trading blocs. Unfortunately, the current polarisation existing among African countries has the potential to undermine AfCFTA. AU should learn from the experience of other trading blocs, and act to protect struggling economies from the unintended consequences of open trade policies.

Finally, ‘Afro-xenophobia’ and racial hate is slowly becoming the *sine qua non* of migrants’ predicament. There is a rising tide of hatred and violence against foreign nationals in almost all African countries which should urgently be addressed. Regrettably, malicious stereotyping of foreign nationals, xenophobic narratives being pushed by unscrupulous politicians, masked anger resulting from economic tensions and growing inequality, and fake news mainly fuelled on unregulated social media platforms with very little or no response by particular governments have led to xenophobic attacks and loss of human life. Eliminating xenophobia would require international efforts (e.g., at UN and AU levels), to among others, legally prohibit and enforce laws against xenophobia, and invest in educating minds to instil attitudes of *welcoming, protecting, promoting and integrating* migrants – as urged by His Holiness Pope Francis. Incidences of xenophobia and sporadic racial hate are not only inimical to AfCFTA ideals but also contrary to AU Agenda 2063.

### VALUES TO SHAPE AfCFTA

It is highly unlikely that the *id quod* of AfCFTA – with its expected output growth and welfare gains – are simply going to be achieved without revenue losses and adjustment costs which may not be distributed uniformly across the African continent. But the *modus quo* of AfCFTA – the management of its directions, for example, or its consequences in terms of social benefits – are certainly open for shaping. Central to that shaping of AfCFTA must be the *vision of what the peoples of Africa want and why they want it*.

Such a vision ultimately demands that AfCFTA should respond to the Scriptural call for a common humanity (i.e., we are all made in the ‘image and likeness of God’ – Gen. 1:27) and must be guided by a recognition of underlying values like: the *dignity of every person*, with its corresponding rights and duties necessary to sustain life; the *integrity of creation*, with respect for human participation in the community of creation, guaranteed by sustainability of resources; the *preferential option for the poor*, with a basic rule of evaluation being what it means for the poor; and the *role of community*, with social consequences of promotion of the common good, solidarity and subsidiarity.

### CONCLUSION

In sum, to speak of AfCFTA is to speak of but one aspect of a very dominant AU 2063 Agenda. Several other aspects such as ‘free movement of people’ deserve unreserved attention if AfCFTA is to be a successful agenda for Africa’s future economic prosperity. Undoubtedly, African countries are *increasingly becoming interconnected* (through trade agreements like AfCFTA) and *sadly getting separated* (through incidences like ‘Afro-xenophobic’ violence). Such a reality cannot surely be ignored, and so are the potential adverse effects that will come with AfCFTA. By its very uniqueness and its large number of participants, AfCFTA will definitely face a considerable number of challenges. Without a united vision and a balanced appreciation of trade as a motor of economic, social and political integration for the continent, AfCFTA may end up as an agreement in futility.

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# XENOPHOBIA

## INTRODUCTION

Instances of xenophobia are not new on the continent in general and the sub-continent of Southern African Development Community (SADC) in particular, with South Africa topping the list. Zambia has not been spared the scourge either. Pope Francis said that xenophobia is not a problem only on the African continent, but a human disease like measles, a disease justified by purity of race and rides on political populism.

## MIGRATION

Migration is as old as humanity itself. The Bible is replete with migrations due to various reasons. Today, there is a huge exodus of people leaving their homelands for other countries as can be seen by the immigrants at the US-Mexico border and the many Africans perishing in the Mediterranean Sea. Most often but not always, xenophobia finds its roots in migration.

Incidences of xenophobia in the past 20 years call for deeper reflection for this violence is an indictment of the success of evangelisation on one hand and African tradition of hospitality on the other. It is also a demonstration of the failure of Pan-Africanism. While the Afrikaner kind of Christianity fostered xenophobia in the form of racism that was formalised into apartheid in South Africa, the majority of Christians did not

and indeed condemned all forms of xenophobia as can be seen by the extent to which most communities in the region sacrificed their safety to give refuge to exiles running away from the apartheid regime of South Africa.

The Catholic Church teaches that people have the right to migrate in search for sustenance and that of their families in line with the biblical traditional and ancient Christian teaching that the goods of the earth belong to all people. The native does not have superior rights over the immigrant. Before God all are equal. Countries have the right to regulate their borders and to control immigration, but with justice and mercy. Our Saviour himself lived as a refugee and reiterates the Old Testament command to love and care for the stranger, a criterion by which Israel's faithfulness to God was, and by which we shall be judged. The Apostle Paul asserts the absolute equality of all people before God, for in Christ, the human race is one before God, equal in dignity and rights.

## CHALLENGES OF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS

Undocumented immigrants present a special concern for their presence is considered criminal since they arrive without legal permission, therefore, undeserving of rights or services. The

Catholic Church teaches that every person has basic human rights and is entitled to have basic human needs met. Current immigration policy that criminalizes the mere attempt to immigrate and imprisons immigrants who have committed no crime is immoral. Before God we cannot excuse inhumane treatment of certain persons due to their lack of legal status that deprives them of rights given by the Creator. Nor can immigration policy that refuses people who have lived in a country for long and contributed to society to achieve legal status be condoned, for it does not serve the common good.

This is a great injustice that leads to Immigrants having limited options, relegating them to economic/industrial activities that the indigenous would not do. In any given society, there is always an indigenous citizenry that is poor as compared to the immigrants who have just come into the land. Zambia is no exception to this and would do better to bring immigrants under documentation not for the purpose of punishing them but to maximise their contribution to the economy.

### **INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS INTO THE LOCAL COMMUNITY**

Most often, immigrants are looked down upon by the receiving community, making them seek solace within their own groups, thereby consolidating their own culture and way of life in the midst of the host community, that make them stand out, in terms of their culture, thereby easily drawing attention to themselves due to the sub communities they create within the larger community, which most often are exclusive, coupled with cultural practices that the locals may perceive to be queer, thereby sometimes raising speculation about what they are doing.

There are two kinds of immigrants in Africa, those coming from relatively well to do countries and are looked up to as epitome of success by the local people, as can be seen in the way the Indo-Pakistan community in SADC has created a sub-culture that seems to be better tolerated by everyone. Then there are those who come from war torn countries or opportunity seekers from countries with failed government systems and corruption and are presumed bad people based on the information on their countries of origin available to the receiving community. In SADC, colourism is deep-rooted in history and racism

and people often experience it from others within their own race. There is this fallacious hierarchy where African black is at the bottom and white European civilised at the top.

### **XENOPHOBIA PERVADES THE WHOLE OF AFRICA**

Xenophobia pervades the entire African continent. South Africa stands out because they have a violent way of expressing it. The fact that it is South African Africans who perpetrated the xenophobic attacks in South Africa, is demonstration that the problem is more of afro-phobia than xenophobia, which is fear of the cultures and peoples of Africa. Xenophobia on the African continent as manifested in afro-phobia is the fear of African African foreigners as a result of suspicion of their activities. This fear brings about suspicion that degenerates into hatred, which is a sense of self-disgust manifesting itself in the desire to eliminate the presence of foreigners as way of securing a presumed purity and restoration of national, ethnic or racial identity. In South Africa, the perceived impurity is the poverty that the people would rather attribute to the African foreigners than to the possibility that there could be mismanagement of national resources leading to inequitable distribution of the same.

Most African governments rarely admit mismanagement leading to inequitable distribution of resources as the cause of poverty, thereby attributing poverty to the plunder of resources by foreigners, provoking xenophobic feelings which are sometimes explicitly encouraged among the poor citizens and the foreigner takes the blame for government failures. Xenophobia is an element of a political struggle about who has the right to be cared for by the state and society. It is a fight for the collective goods of the state in the face of locals feeling that their right to benefit from the government is being subverted by foreigners' rights (Andreas Wimmer 2002).

### **BAD LEGISLATION AND INCOMPETENCE**

There are undocumented immigrants mostly due to bad legislation and incompetence among enforcing organs and sometimes outright corruption. These undocumented immigrants engage in legitimate business and are aided and abetted by the local population not willing



to engage in certain enterprises. Southern Africa is characterised by labour migrations going back to the time mines and plazas were established. The artificial boundaries that mark Africa today have not yet been internalised by Africans, hence the tendency to flout immigration laws, leading to instances of undocumented immigrants that reduce opportunities for these people to gain access to legal and other rights or basic services and expose them to exploitation, abuse, manipulation and a wide range of other protection risks, including racism, discrimination and xenophobia.

Administrative incompetence in Africa makes cities hostile to immigrants, leading to the mushrooming of hives of informal trade networks by migration circuits that extends beyond national borders. This creates a huge gap in knowledge about immigrant entrepreneurship, economic enclaves and economic mobility, making immigrant business zones operate differently and vary in the degree to which they connect to urban and national economic grids. This calls for a reconsideration of their rights to the city. Allowing them more rights will make them thaw and become part of the local community and easier to monitor and manage.

## **THE ROOT OF XENOPHOBIA VIOLENCE**

Christianity partly contributed to racial segregation practices such as apartheid in south Africa, which is at the root of the violence of the South African Africans on their fellow Africans because the apartheid era education system taught the South African Africans that they were better off than their counter parts from the rest of Africa. Afrikaner Calvinism espoused the chosen people ideology based on the Bible, used it to legitimise their subordination of other South African ethnic groups, creating modern Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid, which was in 1948 developed into official policy by the National Party of South Africa, that institutionalised xenophobia, by mandating residential and business zones in cities for each racial group, and other races could not live in or own land in those areas. This created inequitable opportunities leading to poverty.

Transition to majority rule did not dismantle in the post-apartheid South Africa the economic system

that apartheid engendered. Decolonisation in South Africa has not been achieved for South Africa continues with an economic system that was predicated precisely on the exclusion and ritual humiliation of people of colour. With South African Africans in power today, it is the foreigner who has taken the place of people of colour. The bad apartheid education system brainwashed the SAAfrican into believing that they were better off than Africans elsewhere and did not prepare the underclass for the new political economic order that came with the democratised SA, making the Africans take the same attitude of the minority and turn it at their fellow Africans who are not South African. (Richard Grant and David Thompson, National Geographic, 2014). This has caused indignation and anger in South Africans at the African immigrants as they see these people prosper in small enterprises in which the South Africans fail, and are taken to have interrupted the black succession of a prosperous economy.

It is fallacious to think that the exclusion of black South Africans from the economy should have ended after the fall of apartheid. The same violence that treated South African Africans as intruders in a “naturally white” space, is visited on “intruding” foreigners and policy makers should not deceive themselves that excluding foreigners from South Africa will resolve crime and violence in the cities their policies fail to manage. The only way this can be resolved is to ensure equitable distribution of national resources so that the indigenous can compete with the foreigners, for excluding foreigners who are working and contributing to the economy will not resolve the broader economic issues. It may compound them.

## **TENDENCY TO CRIMINALIZE FOREIGNERS**

Labelling all migrants as criminals and excluding them wholesale does not resolve the policy failures that are prevaricating South Africa's decolonisation process. Immigrants do not cause the poverty in SA or elsewhere in Africa. Poverty abounds partly because the South African Africans erroneously believe that the illusory prosperity of the apartheid era will automatically sustain itself in the post-apartheid era. What SA needs is more resources channelled to SA Africans as way of empowering them and an actively managed, post-apartheid transition that

will allow for them to face off with the immigrants who seem to have a head start in terms of capital and business experience.

According to the World Bank, every immigrant worker generated two jobs for South Africans, mostly because their diverse skill sets leads to productivity gains and multiplier effects. Immigrants also contribute to the national fiscus through payment of VAT and purchase goods and services, such as rent, from South Africans. In 2017, the country's prison inmate population stood at 161 054, with only 12 000 or less than 8% of the total incarcerated population being foreigners.

Criminalising foreigners is a hollow solutionism of South African leaders for state and policy level failures that puts African leaders in an unfortunate situation for it portrays SA leaders as still suffering from inferiority complex for how can they allow the economic system that sees black foreigners as a threat while white foreigners are seen as "investors" regardless of how little resources they bring to the table and the points at which they enter the economy?

### **DEATH OF PAN-AFRICAN DREAM**

The Pan Africanism of 50 years ago is dead and the new generation of Africans do not know the transnational liberation solidarity that brought about democracy on the continent nor do they believe in the promise of a one Africa on the continent. People expected that South African entry into the African community would boost Africa. Least did they know that without cleaning up the damage apartheid caused to South Africans, South Africa will remain the monster that the apartheid regime produced. A South African African would rather stick to what the apartheid regime taught them about Africa than try to integrate. It is ironic that afro-phobia violence occurred right in the city where the Pan-African Parliament has its seat. There is a shift in foreign policy from Nelson Mandela's human rights rhetoric to total dominance of the SADC region and the AU. South Africa is no longer leading the African renaissance, but is an ugly superpower seeking to direct the rest of the continent.

This disregard for the rest of Africa is at the base of the repeated bouts of extreme violence directed

at Africans living in South Africa. According to Nelson Mandela (2002), many people paint an idealistic picture of the egalitarian nature of African society, which is illusory. Africans should face the reality that Africans do not always treat each other as equals, and that the culture of consumerism has made Africans to abandon a culture of hard work to create comfort and opt for short cuts of simply migrating to countries that seem to be doing well. One cannot help but interrogate the logic of a Congolese coming from a vast country like the DRC, rich in resources and with still enough space, going to encroach on SA, a country that is struggling with land issues.

### **ECONOMICS OF VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

In South Africa, economic inequality breaks along ethnic and racial lines, with African South Africans being the majority on the bottom rung of the economic ladder. This is conducive environment for crime. Criminals have operated in South Africa long before the number of foreigners increased. It is therefore unfair for the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Naledi Pandor, to claim that many Nigerians in South Africa are involved in drug and human trafficking. Like elsewhere in the world, some foreigners get involved in crime because they find the environment already fertile and most often it is at the behest of the locals for support. It is irrational to limit crime to Nigerians alone. Most often immigrants bring in their hard earned servings to establish businesses that benefits the locals as well. South Africa's financial market policy is so rigid that it is difficult to expatriate money outside the country. By implication this means that the little that the foreigners bring contribute to the SA economy.

Former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, said that the recent xenophobic attack against foreigners in the country was targeted at criminals and not Nigerians. This is an indictment of South African society for how can criminals have managed to build those businesses that the innocent South Africans burnt? It is ironic that a decent society can allow criminals to build business ventures to the magnitude of those that were burnt down by South African Africans. Thabo Mbeki's position on xenophobia in SA makes him come out no better than most of African leaders who are a disappointment to the

African heritage. On September 7, 2019, Thabo Mbeki said that those who attacked Nigerians are not South African but criminals. It presents South Africa in bad light for such a huge number of criminals to come from within the suburbs of Johannesburg as if under one command.

In any country, foreign criminals thrive with the connivance of the locals, and to some extent with the complicity of corrupt law enforcers. There is no way more than 800,000 Nigerian criminals can thrive in a country with a brutal police force like SA, unless Mbeki tells the world that the SA Police force is not only incompetent but corrupt as well. South Africa has a huge drug problem. If there are Nigerian criminals involved in drug dealing, it is not because the Nigerians introduced drugs into SA, but because the SAs needed drugs, providing a ready market and the Nigerians simply obliged. While it is acknowledged that Nigerian gangs control a significant sector of the sex industry in SADC, local criminal gangs dominate child sex trafficking making South Africa a source, transit and destination country for women and children subjected to sex trafficking. Thabo Mbeki chose to ignore the local gangs. For him, criminal and Nigerian are synonyms, a very unfortunate mind-set in a person of his stature.

### **THE AU AND OTHER REGIONAL BODIES NEED TO STEP**

South Africa is an important, if not indispensable, trading partner that Africa cannot afford to lose. This challenges the AU and other regional bodies to look into issues of development seriously so that the problem of the vast majority of Africans going to constrain countries that are doing well can be resolved. While xenophobia and afro-phobia cannot be tolerated and have to be condemned in the strongest sense, mismanagement and embezzlement of national resources leading to inequitable distribution of wealth coupled with political irresponsibility leading to conflicts that displace people should be tackled so that there is development that allow people to stay in their own countries.

There is a challenge for the African Union and regional bodies to put in place binding protocols that will control and regulate the flow of immigrants in ways commensurate with the provisions in the UNCHR and the AU charter. Systems that

foster health and productive cooperation among Africans and that do not rely on systems that divide Africa by the artificial boundaries that were set in Berlin by non-Africans (Faal, C. 2009).

Africans should stop claiming a piece of South Africa on the strength of them having assisted the African National Congress (ANC). Southern African commonality and solidarity as a result of shared history, race and geography is not an effective foreign policy tool because the idea of One Africa is a charade taken too far. The legacy of this pan-African misfortune is a geopolitical weakness that African nations cannot stand up for themselves and their citizens.

### **SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY**

The SA government should revisit its legislation regarding immigrants so that it is proactive and caters for exceptions. The South African Constitution enshrines the right to freedom from all forms of violence. This right applies to everyone in South Africa, whether citizens or not. But there is need for the government to specifically state that attacks on foreign nationals and their businesses is a violation of human rights and a violation of the SA Constitution. It is clear that the grass root people have not been schooled in this thought and South African Africans have lived for a long time under an oppressive system, where they developed a culture of polemics, wherein they viewed the successful whites as enemies. With the arrival of democracy this hatred for success has been transferred to fellow Africans who are making it in the same environment.

This challenges the government to look into its education system as well, for this education system disillusioned the South African Africans that they are better off than the rest of Africa. South African Africans have been brought up on this bad education system and have been brainwashed into believing that the rest of Africa is bad and worse off economically. This is in order for the government to make the South African African content in their poverty. It is this disillusion that breeds anger in the South African Africans when they see the supposedly poor Africans from elsewhere prosper right under their noses. This is endorsed by the state, when the police raided foreign African-owned shops for counterfeit goods, as it is only Africans' shops that were raided, while those belonging to the Chinese, who are the main source of counterfeit goods in the region, were not.



## **NON-REFOULEMENT PRINCIPLE**

Both the UNCHR and the AU charter on human rights and the rights of the individual have provisions for non refoulement of immigrants. Non-refoulement is a fundamental principle of international law that forbids a country receiving asylum seekers from returning them. It is a principle of customary international law, as it applies even to states that are not parties to the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees or its 1967 Protocol. It is also a principle of the tracial law of nations. An agreement was reached between the South African Government and UNHCR in 1993, in which South Africa contracted to abide by the definitions contained in the U.N. 1951 Convention and the 1969 OAU Convention in determining refugee status. Despite this instrument, compulsory repatriations and arbitrary deportations are rife in South Africa. Similar deportations do take place in Zambia and in more brutal ways than the South Africans do it. What SADC and the AU need is to put in place instruments that will operationalise the non-refoulement principle as a way of facilitating local integration, freedom of movement and of employment for immigrants.

South Africa cannot afford to pretend that it is not part of Africa and ignore that democracy came to SA as a result of consented efforts of various African nations. To stop the waves of xenophobia, it is imperative for the government to exploit the opportunities presented by foreigners in terms of skills acquisition and transfer, and also implement pragmatic policies for effective governance and improvement in the lives of the masses. Like elsewhere in Africa, democracy did not come with economic empowerment of Africans. Ignorance is the worst evil that has contributed greatly to this situation for many of the South Africans who have killed Africans believe that South African is better than the rest of Africa and does not need Africa. Least do they know that the South African economy largely depends on its businesses across Africa.

It seems the South African elites have deliberately allowed a bad culture that has enhanced inferiority complex among the South African Africans in front on non-Africans while fostering a superiority complex to Africans that has degenerated in this afrophobia that the continent is witnessing. Had there been non-Africans among the victims, it

could be said that it is xenophobia. This is not xenophobia, but afrophobia that is being used by an African government trying to cover up for its incompetence in the delivery of services to its people. This incompetence has resulted in a class of uneducated Africans who do not understand international relations and view other hard working Africans as people who come to loot their resources. It is ironic that a South African African should be miffed at Africans doing business in South Africa when for hundreds of years non-Africans have looted South Africa.

## **LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA**

Mismanagement of national resources leads to poverty that produces hungry people, and hungry people are angry people. The Zambian government invites foreigners to come and invest in Zambia where the economic environment is fertile for investment. These small scale investors are flourishing at a pace faster than the local traders are developing. This is recipe for jealousy and indeed if not well managed, can lead to carnage like the one Africa is witnessing in South Africa.

To avoid tension escalating, there is need for relevant authorities to put in place pro-active measures that harmonise foreigners with the locals so as to create a viable data base of who is trading in Zambia as a way of not confiscating their merchandise but to bring them under the revenue collection umbrella so that there is not only accountability of the wealth made in Zambia but also as a way of making sure that they contribute a just and fair share to the revenue of the host country. Zambia is losing out on revenue from small scale foreign investors not because these are criminally minded and would not want to contribute but because the Zambian system has failed to incorporate small scale foreign investors, but we have instead opted to stigmatise them. The looting of foreign shops in 2016 was a wake-up call for Zambia that angry citizens can be uncontrollable and a danger to democracy.

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# JCTR BASIC NEEDS AND NUTRITION BASKET

Lusaka December 2019

## (A) COST OF BASIC FOOD ITEMS FOR A FAMILY OF FIVE

Commodity	Price (ZMW) / Unit	Quantity / Month	Total (ZMW)
Mealie Meal (Roller)	133.10 25 kg bag	2 x 25Kg	266.20
Rice	92.00 5kg	4kg	73.60
Cassava Flour	12.18 1kg	6kg	73.10
(Sweet) Potatoes	23.39 1 Kg	4 Kg	93.55
Beans	41.11 1kg	3kg	123.34
Pounded Groundnut	56.78 1kg	1kg	56.78
Soya Pieces	55.40 1 kg	2kg	110.79
Beef	36.50 1kg	2kg	73.00
Chicken	59.66 2kg	5kg	149.16
Kapenta	205.83 1kg	1kg	205.83
Eggs	10.69 1 unit (10 eggs)	3 Trays (90 eggs)	96.25
Milk (Fresh)	7.26 500 ml	10 liters	145.11
Vegetables	620.27 40 Kg	40kg	620.27
Onion	12.13 1 Kg	4 Kg	48.53
Tomatoes	9.56 1 kg	6 kg	57.36
Banana	16.76 1 Kg	16 Kg	268.12
Other Fruits	7.67 1 kg	14 Kg	107.31
Cooking oil (2.5lts)	58.21 2.5lt	3.6lt	83.82
Salt	7.00 1 Kg	1 Kg	7.00
Tea	25.92 250g	250g	25.92
<b>SubTotal</b>			<b>ZMW 2,685.04</b>

## (B) COST OF ESSENTIAL NON-FOOD ITEMS

Commodity	Price(ZMW) / Unit	Quantity / Month	Total (ZMW)
Charcoal	148.00 90kg bag(s)	2 90kg bag(s)	296.00
Soap (Lifebuoy/Champion)	7.71 Tablet(s)	3 Tablet(s)	23.14
Wash soap (BOOM)	10.21 400g	4 400g	40.86
Jelly (Vaseline)	25.17 500ml	1 500ml	25.17
Electricity (medium density)	292.00 Month(s)	1 Month(s)	292.00
Water & Sanitation (med - fixed)	197.00 Month(s)	1 Month(s)	197.00
Housing (3 bedroom)	3,000.00 Month(s)	1 Month(s)	3,000.00
Sanitary towels	11.08 Pack of 10	2 Pack of 10	22.17
Toilet Paper (2ply)	3.14 Tissue(s)	6 Tissue(s)	18.86
Lotion (Dawn)	20.50 250ml	1 250ml	20.50
<b>Subtotal</b>			<b>ZMW 3,935.69</b>
<b>Total for Basic Needs and Nutrition Basket</b>			<b>ZMW 6,620.73</b>

## (C) SOME OTHER ADDITIONAL COSTS

Education		Transport (bus fare round trip)	
Item	Amount (ZMW)	Item	Amount (ZMW)
Grades 8-9 (User + PTA/year)	600.00	Chilenje - Town	20.00
Grades 10-12 (User + PTA/year)	600.00	Chelston - town	20.00
		Matero - Town	16.00
Health		Fuel (cost at the pump)	
item	Amount (ZMW)	Item	Amount (ZMW)
Registration (book)	2.00	Petrol (per litre)	17.62
Self-referral (Emergency Fee)	80.00	Diesel (per litre)	15.59
Mosquito net (private)	20.00	Paraffin (per litre)	15.39

## (D) A COMPARISON OF COSTS (IN KWACHA) OF BASIC NEEDS ACROSS ZAMBIA

Lusaka	Kasama	Mansa	Mongu	Ndola	Solwezi	Monze	Chipata	Mpika	Luanshya	Kitwe	Kabwe	L/stone	Choma	Chinsali	Mazabuka
6,620.73	3,734.11	4,595.96	3,752.68	5,274.16	4,875.36	4,724.92	5,275.79	3,475.01	4,511.58	5,774.45	5,781.15	4,807.91	4,606.63	4,762.18	4,646.23

## Compositions of vegetables and fruits

Computation of vegetables consists of: Pumpkin leaves (9.8kg), Bondwe (2.8kg), Cabbage (18.5kg) and Rape (8.9kg).  
Computation of fruits is from these varieties: Bananas, Mangos, Apples and Oranges.

This survey was conducted on 27th December, 2019 by the Social and Economic Development Programme of the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection.

Average Prices were calculated on the basis of prices gathered from retail outlets at Northmead, Shoprite (Cairo Road), City Market, Chawama, Chainda, Kabwata, Matero and Schools, clinics/hospitals, and filling stations around Lusaka. The December Basic Needs Basket is approximately US\$478 based upon the exchange rate Of K13.85. Other costs would include personal care, clothing, recreation, etc.

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### **ARTICLES AND LETTERS**

We would like encourage you to contribute articles to the JCTR bulletin. These articles can be on any social, economic, political or educational, cultural, pastoral, theological and spiritual theme. A good issue of the bulletin really depends on your lively analytical exchange of views. The length of your article should be between 1000 and 1500 words.

We also encourage comments on the articles in this or previous bulletin issues. Views for the improvement of the bulletin are also welcome.

So to contribute, please write articles or letters to the Editor- JCTR Bulletin by E-mail to

[jctr.faithandjustice@gmail.com](mailto:jctr.faithandjustice@gmail.com) and [jctr.info@gmail.com](mailto:jctr.info@gmail.com)

# THE JCTR UPDATES:

## FAITH AND JUSTICE PROGRAMME (F&J)

The Faith and Justice Programme during the fourth quarter of 2019 worked in partnership with the Canadian Catholic Organization for Peace and Development (CCODP) under the Improved Social and Economic Justice Project to educate civic leaders and youths on servant leadership. It is important that political leaders and young people are educated on the Church Social Teaching (CST) value of 'common good' that indicates creating conditions which allow people to reach their potential and fulfilment fully. To apply this principle, the Programme offered a workshop to councilors in Kasama, Mongu and Livingstone on servant leadership whose model learnt from Jesus Christ is based on service, selflessness and commitment to the promotion of the common good.

Besides workshops held with councilors, youth forums were also held with youth leadership from political parties, churches and institutions of learning. These engagements created a platform for political players and youths to engage in discussions on characteristics of servant leaders ahead of the 2021 elections. It was agreed that current political leaders do not possess characteristics of servant leadership that is empathetic and responsive to the need of people especially the poor. Participants in these workshops used the knowledge and skills that were shared by the JCTR to assess the performance of elected leaders during their term of office. Participants expressed concern on the lack of commitment and non-delivery of campaign promises by elected leaders.

During the same period, an Ecumenical Theological Reflection Day was held with councilors and ward development committee representatives from Matero and Mandevu Constituencies on servant leadership ahead of the 2021 elections. The Ecumenical Theological Day was an important day to help community leaders and community representatives be reminded and challenged to reflect on socio-economic challenges that require leadership that is responsive to the needs of the people. Participants discussed that a lack of consultation, accountability and transparency in Ward Development Fund (WDF) and Constituency Development Fund (CDF) as one of the challenges that has been hindering local development.

It was agreed that there was need for enhanced sensitisation on transparency, accountability and consultation regarding WDF and CDF. In response to this, the JCTR carried out a study on the use of CDF and shared the findings with relevant stakeholders. The Centre urges our readers to access these materials on the website as well as the resource room found at the Centre. Participants also expressed concern on the voter apathy that has characterised elections thereby forcing electorates to choose incredible leaders. Low voter turn-out was attributed to the failure by political leaders to fulfil campaign promises. Going forwards, the JCTR will embark on a mass sensitisation on the importance of voting during elections as well as holding elected leaders responsible for their campaign promises.

The vision of the JCTR is to have a society where faith promotes justice for all in all spheres of life especially the poor. Guided by the Church Social Teaching values that emphasize human dignity in communities, the Faith and Justice

Programme (F&J) through the Misesa Cara Project made follow-up field visits to Kasama, Kabwe, Livingstone, Mongu and Monze. This was to ascertain progress made by stakeholders regarding improving communities' access to Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ESCR) with a focus on water and sanitation, education and health. The visits revealed that, in Livingstone, 4 teachers were sent to Simoonga School while in Mongu, 2,364 learners' books in silozi language, integrated science, creative art and mathematics were distributed at Kanyonyo combined school and 56 teachers-guides were distributed. At Chishipula Primary School in Kasama, one additional teacher was sent to the school after the community lobbied with the District Education Office. A block of two classroom was also completed after the community lobbied which created additional learning space for pupils. Previously, pupils were only learning for two hours due to limited classroom space but following completion of an additional block of classroom, pupils are able to spend more time in classrooms.

In Livingstone's Simoonga community, a staff house that had been under construction for a long time has been completed and handed over to the clinic and the District Health Office has been engaged to send a nurse to occupy the house. This is so as to achieve healthy lives for people by improving access to government health services and facilities. In Kasama, a broken borehole at Chishipula Primary School has been repaired by the school management after JCTR and the community engagement. Further, one (1) borehole was equipped in Kapulanga community of Mongu which increased water supply from 4hours to 5hours. Going forward, the JCTR will continue reminding relevant government and private agencies on their responsibility to provide services to the general community. This is a quest to close the gap between the community and the service providers on ESCR by providing mechanisms of accountability between the two interest groups.

Lastly, the Programme also continued to implement work in partnership with Misereor on enhanced good governance, respect for Human Rights and citizen's participation in Zambia Project. The F&J in the fourth quarter was kept busy demanding for strengthened legal frameworks whose work focused on demand for the release of the ATI Bill and its subsequent enactment into law. The discussions that were held with various stakeholders highlighted the importance of active involvement of all stakeholders in the legal reform processes especially at the level of submissions and validation of legal frameworks.

This is because when citizens are left out of consultative processes, it becomes difficult for them to influence the content of laws such as the Public order Act and access to information law once the process has reached the bill stage. Once the Bill is approved by cabinet and presented to Parliament for debate not much change can be effected on the Bill before it is assented into an Act of the Laws of Zambia. Thus the Programme embarked on a mass sensitization through Loyola TV programmes which is on channel 100 on TopStar. The JCTR programmes have been aired every Thursday at 20:30hours. We therefore, encourage viewers and all citizens to tune in and share their contributions during the JCTR corner.

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (SED)

The programme analysed the proposed 2020 national budget and appeared before the Parliamentary Committee on Budget on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2019 to provide feedback. This was in conjunction with the Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR). Further, a press statement was issued in which the Centre did highlight that the national budget did not offer much relief to ordinary citizens who were already struggling to survive. The Programme also held 3 television series on the national Budget on Loyola television.

Following a stakeholders meeting held later in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter, the Programme followed up with Ministry of Justice on the status of enactment of the planning and budgeting bill. A positive feedback was received to the effect that the bill would be tabled before parliament during the last session in 2019.

Further, the Programme conducted 32 Basic Needs and Nutrition Basket Surveys in 16 towns. During the period two press statements were issued that highlighted the reactive nature of government in policy implementation and to the socio-economic crisis in the country. The programme also held a public lecture at Chalimbana University in Chongwe district on sustainable agriculture and climate change. The platform created helped to raise awareness among students and lecturers on sustainable agriculture practices as among responses to climate change.

The programme also validated and launched a social audit report on the audit conducted in Chavuma on the construction of the police station whose completion has stalled since 2012. The launch received wide coverage in both private and public media and stakeholders such as the Zambia Police have since developed interest in the findings of the social audit and are following up the matter.

And following the launch of the revised Basic Needs Basket that now emphasises nutrition, a round of sensitisation meetings were held in Kitwe, Mongu, Livingstone, Mazabuka and Kabwe to promote nutrition. Target groups included marketeers, government, church, civil society and media.

The Programme continued to follow through and participated in public discussions on Zambia's Public Debt and partnered with other likeminded organisations such as Centre for Trade Policy and Development (CTPD), Zambia Institute for Policy Advocacy and Research (ZIPAR) and Consumer Unity Trust Society (CUTS), to lobby improvement on how public debt was managed. Some papers made were on subjects such as "Public Debt and how affects citizens".

**Views expressed in the *JCTR Bulletin* do not necessarily reflect the views of the JCTR**

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